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565 517 184 people of Bida professional women singers, accompanied by their own drummers, perform for an audience which pays for its pleasures. The uneducated pagans like to sit together on afternoons and evenings in front of their houses, chat or weave mats, or just enjoy the peace of these hours of leisure. The educated Mohammedans meet in the house of a Mallam and read with him the holy books of Islam, using even their leisure hours for furthering their education.

565 291 184 As regards dress: a man of standing would always, even in the privacy of his home, wear trousers and the flowing white robe, and would never appear before guests and strangers without turban. Peasants and commoners normally wear a loin-cloth and a blue cloth thrown over the shoulder, and the blue Phrygian cap which is said to be the traditional head-gear of Nupe. Only on state occasions would they don robe and turban.

565 177 184 304 195 People of rank have adopted, with Mohammedanism, many features of Hausa culture. In their families the Hausa custom of removing the uvula of small children is practised—a custom absent among the lower classes and unknown among the peasants. They are fond of using Hausa words and phrases; for expressions concerning the delicate topic of sex they invariably use Hausa or Arabic circumlocutions. They despise the peasants and uneducated people of the lower classes who use the crude literal expression, and who cannot embellish their speech with the more elegant phrases borrowed from Hausa.

565 184 The various features enumerated above are clearly not of the same order. Characteristic though they are of the standards valid in the different strata of Nupe society they are not equally reducible to the central facts of class structure—political and economic conditions. The evaluation of certain habits as inferior or superior is as much a matter of convention as a result of social or economic inequality. That the poor man cannot afford meat or chicken-and-rice is due to his poverty; but the preference for milled or unmilled grain or for palm-wine or sorghum-beer respectively, is a matter of taste and habit, i.e. a 'cultural' trait pure and proper. Yet rendered permanent by education, linked with habitual group-behaviour which in other, more vital, spheres of life positively reflects economic or social prerogatives, these smaller traits, too, gain the significance of class-determined behaviour. Here we grasp another aspect of class differentiation. I have said that where the attribute of inferiority or superiority is disregarded, differences of habit and living conditions in general are reduced to cultural differences in the narrow sense. This gains special significance in a society like Nupe, which has grown out of a conglomerate of various tribal groups, each with its own more or less specific culture. Some of the food habits of the 'poor' peasants are indeed the original food habits of cultural groups which have been incorporated into the kingdom. I have mentioned that the Phrygian cap, worn by peasants and commoners, is regarded as the traditional head-dress of the country. Their 'uncouth' manners, their 'primitive' customs, are part of the pagan peasant culture of the country. Similarly turban and flowing robes, or the appreciation of professional musicians and Mohammedan learning, reflect the preferences of a specific cultural

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the Nupe have nothing of the sort, their art is imageless, they have but crude wall paintings, and their strength lies in ornamental, decorative art. Also the Yoruba have a strong sense for pantomime and drama, for which again there is no parallel among the Nupe.

IV. The story experiment

The story was read to the students at 8 a.m., i.e. during their first class. At noon they were asked to relate the story for the first time (each boy by himself) and after one week for the second time. Each time the leader of the experiment wrote down the story as it was told. The story (in free translation) runs as follows:

> Long, long ago there were a man and his wife. They had two children, sons. When these sons had grown up, they saw a beautiful girl. They both made friends with her, and loved her very much. They loved her with one heart. But the girl did not love the elder brother, she only loved the younger. Thereupon the elder brother went to the younger and told him to give up the girl. He said: "I am the one to marry the girl for I am your elder brother." Thus he spoke. But the younger refused. They quarrelled a great deal till the elder brother became furious. When the night fell he went to the hut where the younger brother was sleeping and killed him with his sword, he killed him with one stroke. When the people heard the news they said: "He did an evil deed, God will revenge it." But the girl cried, she cried for twenty days and her heart was full of pain. When she had finished crying she left and went to another place. Nobody saw her again.

The responses which the contents and structure of the story evoke in the experimental subjects can be analysed under four or five different headings: There are points in the story which stress emotional reaction; points which bear on moral ideas; and points which appeal more specifically to reasoning, i.e. crucial points in the logical progress of the narrative. The text also contains certain set phrases and formulae; and, finally, a number of situational or circumstantial details. Obviously, these different categories in which the features of the narrative can be grouped must overlap to a certain extent. But it is just this overlapping, the application of different and even divergent aspects of interpretation to the same features, which will reveal to us most strikingly the different psychological attitudes with which the two groups approach the data presented in the narrative.

(1) *Set phrases and formulae*

The beginning and the end of the narrative, and one or two other phrases, represent more or less fixed formulae typical of all such stories. These phrases were in most cases repeated literally, both by Nupe and

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Yoruba. In the reproduction of one formula-like phrase, however, we grasp a first striking difference between the two groups. The phrase in question is the sentence '"God will revenge it"', spoken in the story by the people when they learn of the crime. This set phrase, which is commonly used in a context of this kind, is repeated verbally by 10 Nupe (13 in the second recall); 6 (3) Nupe leave it out altogether; and 4 (4) substitute another sentence of the same meaning. Among the Yoruba 5 (5) quote literally; 3 (1) leave it out; and 12 (14) substitute another sentence. Yet the new sentence which the Yoruba substitute does not merely reproduce, with different words, the same meaning. In 5 (10) Yoruba reproductions the changed phrase introduces an altogether new element, namely a rational explanation of the expression '"God will revenge it"', uttered under these particular circumstances. Thus (Y 8), in the first recall, lets the people speak as follows: "The elder brother has done wrong; we cannot revenge it, God will revenge it." In the second recall this reasoning is more cogent still: "The people said: 'They should not do anything about it; God will punish him.'" Or (Y 12): "They said, 'One should leave the elder brother alone. God will judge him.'" Or (Y 15): "His sin is very grave; no one but God can judge him." Only two Nupe in the second recall (none in the first) felt it necessary to supply this additional rational link which turns a stereotyped phrase, quoted almost automatically, into a logically sound judgment.

(2) *Rational aspects*

In the stress which is laid upon such rational links and logical elements lies in fact the most fundamental difference between the Nupe and Yoruba version of the narrative. A characteristic example is the reproduction of the third sentence of the story ("when these sons had grown up"), a 'crucial' sentence in so far as it supplies an essential rational link in the narrative; obviously the brothers must have grown into men before they could have had their love affair. Now among the Nupe only 3 mentioned this fact in the first, and 4 in the second recall. The corresponding figures among the Yoruba are 17 and 18. But even the most salient and most essential points in the story, the preference of the girl for the younger brother and his refusal to renounce his claims, points which are missing in none of the Yoruba reproductions, are neglected by the Nupe: 9 Nupe in the first and 5 in the second recall leave out one or the other of these facts on which the whole development of the story depends. Similarly, the quarrel between the two brothers which supplies the motive for the murder is mentioned by 3 (3) Nupe only as against 12 (14) Yoruba.

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But, as we have seen already, the Yoruba do more than merely observe the existing rational connexions in the story. They introduce new ones, or try to render existing connexions more striking. For instance, towards the end of the story there is the sentence "when the girl had finished crying, she left the town". Among the Nupe 19 (16) reproductions include a sentence the meaning of which closely corresponds to the original; among the Yoruba 2 only kept to this rather weak connecting link; 7 (8) placed the two sentences simply side by side: "she wept for twenty days, and then she ran away"; and 10 (9) turned the connexion into a sentence such as this: "when she thought of all this sadness that existed in this matter, she left the town." Now the most interesting fact is that this sentence is a typical expression of Nupe 'mentality'. When I first composed the story I had placed the two sentences side by side: "the girl cried for twenty days. Then she left the town." But my two Nupe informants, with whom I worked out the text, objected to this expression, and insisted on bringing in the sentence "when she had finished crying". This sentence was then simply taken over into the Yoruba text. But in the experiments most of the Yoruba rejected it as we saw, left it out or, more characteristically, reformulated it, thus strengthening the logical cohesion of the story.

One could try to establish statistically this difference with respect to the stress laid on elements of reasoning. Contained in the story are four sentences which represent specifically rational or logical links. Every rational link which appears in the reproductions, both an original rational link which was already contained in the story and any new, additional 'rationalization', is scored as 1. The means for the 20 experimental subjects then amount, among the Nupe, to 2·3 (2·4), and among the Yoruba to 5·5 (6.0), i.e. the Yoruba figure is more than twice the Nupe figure, and considerably above the theoretical value of 4.

(3) *Situational aspects*

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The retelling of the Nupe, although neglectful of the rational connexions embodied in the text, does itself introduce certain new, additional links and connexions. These links stress situational, circumstantial facts, details of place and time, which are of little importance for the logical progress of the story. They may amount only to irrelevant remarks, filled in between sentences, such as "this went on for some time", or "thus they lived", etc. Or they may completely replace the logical connexion, as in the version of (N 7) who, leaving out the quarrel of the two brothers, jumps from the statement about the girl's preference for the

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younger brother to the scene of the murder, by simply stating: "one day, at night, the elder went to the sleeping hut of the younger...."

In other cases, however, the situational and temporal details tend to build up a vivid, concrete picture of the happenings in the story. Thus, for example, 4 Nupe (6 in the second recall) mention that the brothers were 'travelling about' when they saw the girl; 3 (5) let the brothers meet the girl 'in town'; (N 25) adds the information that the brothers 'afterwards returned home'. And after describing the murder 3 (6) Nupe continue the story as follows: "On the morrow", or "when it became day, the people heard of the crime." Yet these connexions never strengthen the cohesion of the narrative as such. On the contrary, one gains the impression that the story dissolves itself into a number of different scenes and situations.

This difference between the tense, logically convincing way in which the Yoruba reproduce the story, and the loosely knit Nupe way of retelling which is concerned more with details of situation and temporal sequence, becomes most evident in connexion with the 'situational' item in the story, that the murder was done 'at night'. Among the Nupe this is in itself an important feature which is given a prominent place in the reproduction. Thus:

(N 54) The younger brother refused to leave the girl. The elder left the matter then. Till one day, at night,....

(N 60) The younger brother said: "No." Then it became night. The younger brother slept in his hut. The elder took his sword, and killed him on that night.

But among the Yoruba the reference to the night is clearly a minor detail which is pushed into a relative sentence and is quite overshadowed by the really relevant fact, which is the connexion between the anger of the elder brother and the murder.

(Y 6) The two brothers quarrelled terribly. The elder pulled out his sword and went to kill the younger brother where he slept.

(Y 9) The brothers quarrelled, and when night came the elder took his sword. He went and cut off the head of the younger brother because he had spoiled his heart.

(Y 15) They quarrelled about the girl. So much that at night the elder took his sword, went to the place where the younger slept and attacked him with his sword till he killed him.

(4) *Emotional and moral aspects*

In this experiment, rather surprisingly, the emotional factor seems to go hand in hand with the reasoning factor. Emotional and rational aspects do not seem to represent divergent or even independent principles; the more 'rational' Yoruba stress at the same time emotional reaction; and